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Multi-directional learning between delinquent children and their parents : the child's relationship on caretaking control, and the caretaker's style on the child's self-concept and social interaction

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MULTI-DIRECTIONAL LEARNING BETWEEN DELINQUENT CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS: THE CHILD'S RELATIONSHIP ON CARETAKING CONTROL, AND THE CARETAKER'S STYLE ON THE CHILD'S SELF-CONCEPT AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

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by

Ronald Savage

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APPROVAL SHEET

We, the undersigned, do certify that we have read this dissertation and that in our individual opinions it is acceptable in both scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Education

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And a special acknowledgment to "Buffalo" Bob Bloom for putting me in touch with one of the most interesting subject populations I have yet to encounter.

Finally, I thank the men, women and children of the Pendleton Project.

At the age of sixteen, one year after my father's death, and me freshly dropped out of high school, my father's brother took me aside and told me the family secret: my father did not finish high school, either. I thought then, and I actually know now, that this was not much of a family secret.

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Family patterns are not laid out before us like the stars in the sky.

-- R.D. Laing

The Politics of the Family

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Chapter 1

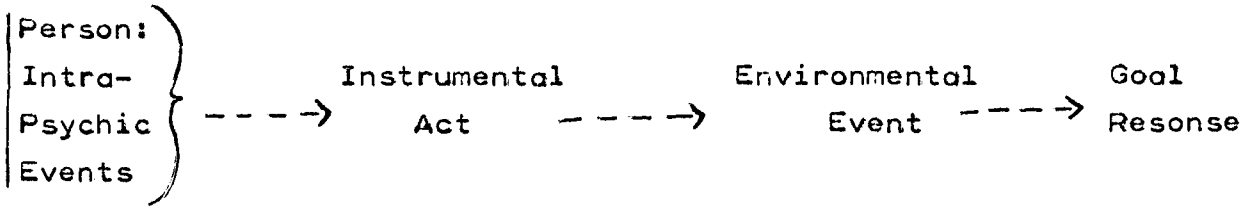
Introduction

The direction of research on the interaction between parents and children has moved from the parent shaping socialization on the tabula rasa of the child to the ways both parent and child effect or shape each other's behavior (e.g., Hilton, 1967; Sigel, 1963; Bell, 1971; Berberich, 1971, and Osafsky and O'Connell, 1972).

Sears (1951) was one of the first researchers to discuss the importance of dyadic models in treating social interaction. He differentiated monadic and dyadic instigation-action sequences. The monadic instigation-action sequence (see Fig. 1) shows the goal seeking activity of one person alone in the environment. Changes are produced in the environment (the environmental event) by the activity of a person (the instrumental act) to achieve a goal (the goal response):

Figure 1

The monadic instigation-action sequence
(Sears, 1951, p. 478)

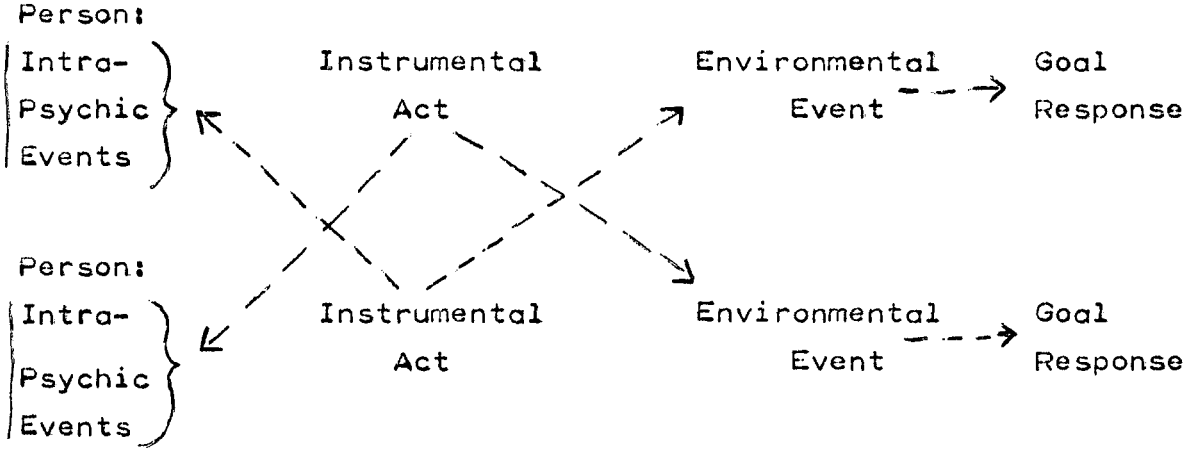


As an example, if infant David experiences hunger (an intra-psychic event), he will begin to cry (the instrumental act), which will bring his mother into his room (the environmental event); if she gives him food, the goal response will be achieved.

In the dyadic instigation-action sequence (see Fig. 2), to continue with the mother and child example, the mother hears infant David's cry (his instrumental act), and she becomes concerned (her intra-psychic event); she then goes into his room (her instrumental act; his environmental event), and, feeding him (his goal response; her environmental event), he is again content (her goal response):

Figure 2

The dyadic instigation-action sequence
(Sears, 1951, p. 479)



Sears postulated that "in any social interaction, the interests, motives, habits or other psychological properties of the acting individuals determine to some degree the sort of interaction that will occur" (p. 477).

The earliest studies of the interaction between parent and child were "ecological" or "habitat" research (Baker and Wright, 1949, 1951). Carmichael (1954) described the method as one "in

which observation is systematic but stimulation is not controlled" (p.20). That is, observation is occurring in a natural setting. Wright (1967), using his "ecological approach," showed that children start approximately 50% of parent-child interactions. However, Wright is quick to point out that a dependency relationship does exist on the part of the child.

> "Frequent submission by the children complements frequent dominance by adults. Adults directed, and the children deferred only a little less often than they appealed; and, in this, there appears a control relation. These two relations of dependency and control seem fundamental in action relationships involving the children with adults" (p.236).

Adult or caretaker control may be a function of the activity of the child. Bell (1968) has differentiated two types of parental control: 1) upper-limit control, and 2) lower-limit control. In upper-limit control, the intensity of the child's activity exceeds the standards set by the caretaker, and this type of control may be considered a reducer. In lower-limit control, the intensity of the child's activity is below the standard set by the caretaker, and the type of parental control here may be considered a stimulator. For Bell (1977), simply put, the child is controlling the caretaker's control of him or her (the child) by varying the intensity of activity. Bell postulated that the child's manipulation of the caretaker may or may not have intent, but the outcome of such a manipulation by the child is to create a specific degree of proximity to the caretaker.

> "The signal and executive aspects of a child's attachment repertoire affect parents in such a way as to bring about and maintain proximity. It is not necessary that the child 'plan' to bring a parent, or have the intention of keeping the parent, nearby. It is only necessary that the child's behavior be effective...Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind that competence, defined in terms of controlling the behavior of another person so as to produce a certain result, is not to be equated with maturity, which refers to the stage that any given individual has reached in attaining adult forms" (p.64).

Rheingold (1969) is in agreement with Bell, and she has stated:

> "The infant modulates, tempers, regulates, and refines the caretaker's activities. He produces delicate shades and nuances in these operations to suit his own needs of the moment. By such responses as fretting, sounds of impatience or satisfaction, by facial expressions of pleasure, contentment or alertness he produces elaborations (in parenting behavior)" (p.786).

Livingston (1967) has pointed out that the neuroanatomical development of the infant early in the first year is geared to activity rather than reactivity (i.e., the infant has not become aware enough of the environment to react to it; rather, the infant is "reacting" to his or her own internal state). The infant, at such a point in development, is theorized by Livingston to act upon the caretaker, inducing caregiving and social interaction from the caretaker. However, though caregiving and social interaction may occur at this stage of the infant's life, socialization itself probably begins some time later. As Korner (1974) says:

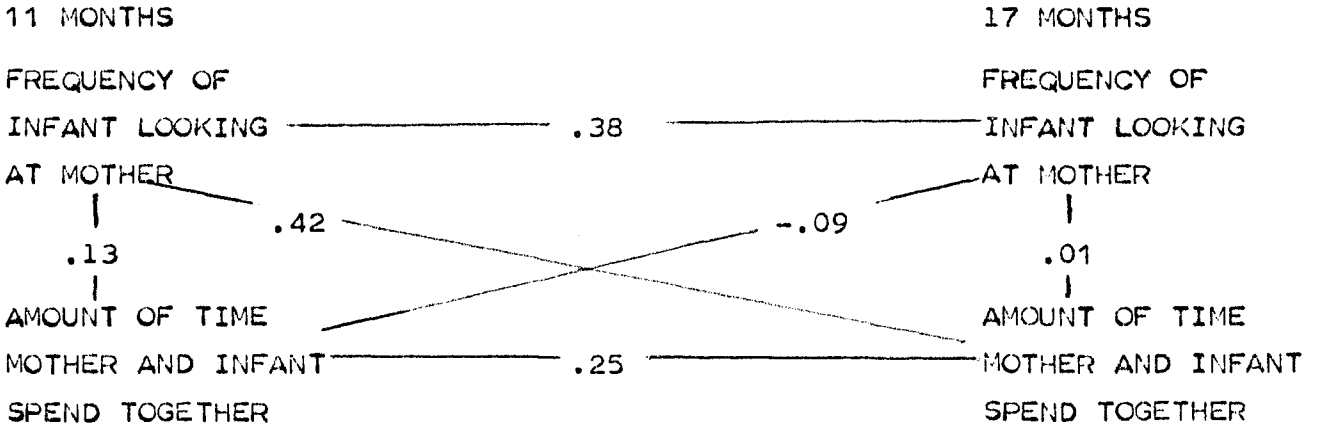
> "Immediately after birth, maternal ministrations are usually not as yet geared to socialize, educate, or stimulate the infant toward goals held desirable by the mother; instead, her interventions are evoked

> by the infant's discomfort, associated with his first attempt to function as an independent organism. It is the infant's crying and other signs of discomfort that dictate maternal action" (p. 114).

Clarke-Stewart (1973) did a cross-lagged correlational analysis of mutual influence between mother and infant from the time the infant was 11 to 17 months of age (see Fig. 3). One cross-lagged (or diagonal) correlation was significant at .42; the other cross-lagged correlation was statistically insignificant at -.09, leading to the hypothesis that the frequency with which the infant attended to the mother at 11 months influenced her to spend more time with her baby at 17 months.

Figure 3

Cross-lagged correlation analysis of mother-infant interaction data (Clarke-Stewart, 1973)



(Note: within-age correlations are vertical; cross-age correlations horizontal.)

Gewirtz and Boyd (1976) worked out an experimental manipulation whereby the mother was conditioned to increase her talking and smiling toward her infant by the experimenter supplying information about the infant's orienting response, the infant hidden by a screen.

Another area of focus is the temperament of the child. Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1970) used a factor analytic technique to order data collected through direct observation and interview, and they generated three childhood personality types: 1) "easy," 2) "slow to warm up," and 3) "difficult." The two types that are of concern in the present study are "easy" and "difficult." The temperament characteristics of the easy child are 1) regular patterns of behavior, 2) adaptability, 3) positive in approach (i.e., toward events and/or persons), and 4) positive in mood. The difficult child is charaterized as having 1) irregularity in patterns of hunger, excretion, and sleep, 2) withdrawal from new objects or persons, 3) slow adaptation, 4) intensity of reactions, and 5) general negativism in mood.

Since the present study is on the multi-directional learning of parents and children -- specifically, on a population labeled "delinquent" --, the research emphasis will now be turned toward how parents effect their children.

Parents of delinquent children have been shown to frequently display either rejecting behavior toward their children (hostility, lack of warmth, or punitiveness), or erratic discipline (e.g., Burt, 1929; Healy and Bronner, 1926; Glueck and Glueck, 1934, 1950). Parental modeling for shaping a child's behavior has been shown to facilitate such behaviors as self-control (Bandura and Kupers, 1964; Bandura and Mischel, 1965; Bandura and Whalen, 1966; Mischel and Liebert, 1966), self-criticism (Grusec, 1966;

Mischel and Grusec, 1966), altruistic behavior (Grusec, 1971), and delay of gratification (Mischel and Grusec, 1966).

Internalization of parental demands (either overt or covert) by the child has received attention. Stayton, Hogan, and Ainsworth (1971) hypothesized that socialization of the child is more a function of the child's genetic predisposition than a parental training procedure. Their measures were observations of mother infant interaction during the first year. The authors findings were in two categories: 1) maternal sensitivity and general acceptance of the infant appeared to be a larger factor than a specific training procedure, and, supporting Thomas et al. (1968), 2) there seem to be some infants who internalize easily without any special effort on the part of the parent, while other infants have a difficult time of it regardless of the amount of caretaking time, energy, and training. Yarrow et al. (1968), using data from their own study as well as data collected by Burton (1959), Sears et al. (1957), and Sears et al. (1965), looked at the transgressions of preschool children; the relationship between parental influence and the conscience of the child. The data obtained for both parent and child were from interviews with the parent. In all four of the studies there was a positive correlation between maternal warmth and the child's conscience (i.e., tendencies to confess and blame one's self after a negative act), particularly with boys. In three out of the four studies, punishment that was physical was negatively correlated. That is, the child became concerned about "being caught"

rather than internalizing parental rules. The use of praise was positively correlated with conscience for both boys and girls in all four studies, though the correlations were significant statistically in only three out of eight instances. The withdrawal of maternal love was inconsistent in its relationship to conscience. However, in all four studies, parental reasoning and the child's conscience were positively correlated. The relationship between guilt and internalization has also been studied (Allinsmith, 1960; Allinsmith and Greening, 1955; Aronfreed, 1961; Heinicke, 1953; Hoffman and Saltstein, 1967; Uger, 1962). The two concepts that have been derived out of studying the relationship between guilt and the child's ability to internalize are called 1) the love orientation (Sears et al., 1957; Becker, 1964), and 2) power assertion (Hoffman, 1960). These two concepts are ways in which parents raise their children. The first one, the love-orientation, has two components: 1) cognitive structuring or reasoning in which the caretaker clearly delineates rules, expectations, and consequences, and 2) the withdrawal of love or positive affect by the parent when the child deviates from expected behavior, or the parent emphasizing how the child may effect other individuals or the parent by such behavior (e.g., hurt, disappointed). The second concept, power-assertion, is described by Martin (1975) as a punishment that "...is intense and frequently physical (hitting, slapping, spanking), usually involves verbal abuse and loss of parental temper, and would include unreasonable deprivation of privileges" (p.500). The data

collected from the above studies, either through story-completion techniques by the child, or reports from the child and/or the parent, indicate that the love-oriented approach to child-rearing internalizes parental demands, and the power-assertion approach has the tendency to give the child an external orientation to transgressions (i.e., concern about being caught). Severe power-assertive behavior in parents has been found to frequently correlate with aggression in children, specifically 1) delinquent males (Andry, 1960; Bandura and Walters, 1959; Burt, 1929; Glueck and Glueck, 1950; Hetherington et al., 1971; Jenkins, 1966; McCord et al., 1959; Wittman and Huffman, 1945), 2) in delinquent adolescent females (Burt, 1929; Hetherington et al., 1971; Wittman and Huffman, 1945), 3) in preadolescent children (Becker et al., 1959; Eron et al., 1963; Martin and Hetherington, 1971). The results of these studies held for both middle and lower class families.

Buss and Plomin (1975) also discuss the love-oriented approach to child-rearing by conceptualizing a temperament called "sociability." The temperament of sociability has two dimensions: 1) directional (i.e., the seeking out of other people and remaining with them), and 2) responsivity or warmth. "We assume that the sociable person not only seeks out others but is warmly responsive to their presence" (p. 92). That is, over time, the warm person reinforces the people he or she has seeked out. Buss and Plomin state:

"The most important temperament for child-rearing

> appears to be sociability. The highly sociable person, by definition, seeks relationships and offers affection. Thus a highly sociable parent would be loving and would at least lean away from punitiveness (to avoid rejecting the child and being rejected by the child). He might also demand affection from the child, especially if other sources of affection were scarce. The low sociable parent would not offer love easily or freely and would be amenable to punishing or neglecting the child. The child-parent bond would be less rewarding for him, and he might consider the child as something of a burden" (p. 215).

In measuring sociability, Buss and Plomin make mention of two issues. First, there is a developmental issue with regard to measuring sociability. "In children, soothing, arousal, and receiving nurturance are the major aspects of sociability, but more egalitarian relationships characterize sociability in adolescents and adults" (p. 104). Secondly, the authors want to distinguish the two aspects of sociability: need (direction), and responsivity (warmth). Need (direction) studies have been done in such areas as a) closeness to mother (Schaffer and Emerson, 1964), b) personal space (preferred distance from others) (Hall, 1966), c) choosing to wait or work alone or with others (Schachter, 1959), and d) participation in primary groups (Gough, 1965). Responsivity (warmth) research has concentrated on a) smiling (Bayes, 1972), b) eye contact (Exline, 1963), c) pupil dilation (Hess, 1965), d) talking with or about others (Mehrabian, 1970), and e) intimacy of talk (Sermat and Smyth, 1973).

Buss and Polmin hypothesize that the lack of sociability creates polarities of social interaction: these are continuums that go

from a) soothing to restriction, from b) stimulation to boredom, from c) attention to rejection, from d) affection to hostility, from e) praise to criticism, and from f) needs to demands. For example, a caretaker may sooth a child, but too much soothing may become over-protection; thus, restricting the child's desire for independent action.

Buss and Polmin theorize that parent-child interaction has three features: 1) "...parental child-rearing practices, the impact of which is in part determined by the child's temperament; 2) the eliciting effects of the child's temperament; and 3) modeling, the extent of which is partly determined by parent-child similarity in temperament" (p. 219).

Statement of Problem

There is still a need for further clarification on the interactional process between parents and children, not only to attempt to crystalize the process but to look at the parent-child system in a variety of population types.

Bell and Harper (1977), in a review of parent-child studies, report that the majority of research has been done on bi-directional learning (i.e., the interaction of one child and one caretaker). The present study will look at multi-directional learning: mother, father, and child.

The purpose of the present study is an attempt to understand the multi-directional interaction effects of the parent-child constellation on a specific youth population labeled "delinquent."

Glueck and Glueck (1962; 1968) point to both affection and discipline as key variables in understanding delinquent children and their parents. The data in the Glueck and Glueck (1968) study showed that the mothers of delinquents were less affectionate toward their sons than the mothers of nondelinquents -- 72.1% as compared to 95.5%, respectively. "A far higher proportion of the mothers of the delinquents than of the nondelinquents were openly indifferent or hostile to the boys, often to the point of rejection" (p. 13). With regard to discipline, Glueck and Glueck state:

> "An outstanding difference between the disciplinary practices of the delinquents' and nondelinquents' parents was found in the considerably greater resort of the former to physical punishment and the lesser extent to which they calmly reasoned with the boy about misconduct. There is a reciprocal mechanism here: it may well be that the delinquent boys, being so continuously involved in acts of misconduct, called forth more rigid or more impulsive and erratic controls on the part of the parents" (p. 16).

The problem is to clarify the type of temperament in the child and the degree of sociability in the caretaker, and then to focus on the influence of the interaction for both of them.

Definition of Terms

To aid in the understanding of this present piece of research, specific terms will now be conceptually and operationally defined.

Sociability

Conceptually, sociability has two dimensions: 1) directional, i.e., a movement toward persons, and 2) responsivity, or warmth.

Such adjectives as attention, affection, empathy, and altruism describe sociability. Not only does the person high in sociability seek out other persons, getting his/her needs met in a social way, but responds to the needs of other people by attempting to meet their needs. Operationally, sociability will be defined as the degree of parental involvement, both prior to and after the age of six. The involvement of the parents will be taken from a developmental history form of their interactions with the child, excluding attending to the child's basic needs (e.g., bathing, feeding, toilet training); these interactions will include 1) lap games, which deal, by the nature of the game, with touching and holding the child, 2) reading or language building activities, 3) indoor games (e.g., cards, Monopoly, and so on), and 4) outdoor games. These specific parental involvements will be viewed for both father and mother.

Ego-supportive

Conceptually, ego-supportive control is both a "type" of parental control (or discipline), and a "degree" of control. As a "type" such control would include: 1) praise, 2) explanation, 3) earning privileges, and 4) material reward. As a "degree" (see Fig. 4) of control, ego-supportive control may be seen as one end of a continuum going from the supportive types of control to more punitive types of control. The term "ego-supportive" is used because as a type of control it is not a direct attack on the

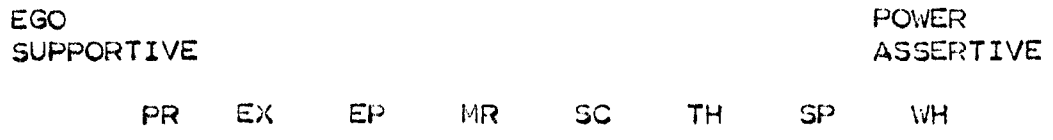
child. Operationally, ego-supportive control for both mothers and fathers will be defined in the discipline section of their developmental history form and will include four different ways of control: a) praise (PR), b) explanation (EX), c) earning privileges (EP), and d) material reward (MR).

Power-assertive

Conceptually, power-assertive control by the caretaker is either a verbal or physical attack on the child (Hoffman, 1960). Operationally, power-assertive control for both mothers and fathers will be defined in the discipline section of their developmental history form and will include four different ways of control: a) scolding (SC), b) threatening (TH), c) spanking (SP), and d) whipping (WH).

Figure 4

Degree of Parental Control



Easy Children

Conceptually, Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1970) describe the easy child as having 1) regular patterns of behavior, 2) adaptability, 3) positive in approach (i.e., toward events and/or persons), and 4) positive in mood. Operationally, using the developmental history form, children will be labeled "easy" through a minimal involvement

in a variety of "acting out" behaviors prior to the age of six (e.g., temper tantrums, inability to get along with others, destructive orientation, and so on).

Difficult Children

Conceptually, Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1970) describe the difficult child as having 1) irregularity in patterns of hunger, excretion, and sleep, 2) withdrawal from new objects or persons, 3) slow adapation, 4) intensity of reactions, and 5) general negativism in mood. Operationally, using the developmental history form, children will be labeled "difficult" through maximum involvement in a variety of "acting out" behaviors prior to the age of six (e.g., temper tantrums, destructive orientation).

The third behaviorally defined category of Thomas, Chess, and Birch, "slow to warm up," is excluded from the present study.

Hypotheses

The general hypothesis of this study is that a child's temperament (here labeled "easy" or "difficult") will elicit a controlling pressure of varying intensity by the parent onto the child, but the style in which the control is applied (here termed the degree of parental sociability) will shape the child's self-regard; thus, it will also shape the way others see and respond to him.

The general hypothesis has been divided into two specific hypotheses, one in which the child effects the parent, and one in which the parent is shaping the behavior of the child. These

hypothese are as follows, respectively.

1) If caretakers are grouped into high/low sociability, and their children are grouped into easy/difficult temperaments (prior to the age of six), then the high sociability caretakers will be less nurturing, and more punitive in discipline, for the difficult tempered child than the easy tempered child, but still not as rejecting, and punitive in discipline, as those caretakers who are low in sociability and have difficult tempered children.

2) If caretakers viewed their child as having a difficult temper prior to the age of six but have a parenting orientation that is high in sociability, then their child as a preteen and teen will a) have a better self-concept, and b) be viewed by his or her teacher more positively than those caretakers who had difficult tempered children prior to the age of six but whose parenting orientation is low in sociability.

Plan of Presentation

Designated as chapters, there are five parts of information relevant to this study. This chapter is an introduction to the subject, the particular problem, the defining of terms, and the hypotheses. The next four chapters will be 1) a review of the literature, 2) methodology, 3) the analysis and results of data, and, finally, 4) the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

This chapter will review empirically the major areas which comprise the foundation for the current study. These areas will include: 1) the general parent-child interactional process, 2) the effects of parental discipline (or control), 3) sociability, and 4) the parent-child variables in delinquency.

Parent-Child Interactional Process

Bell and Harper (1977) have divided adult-child interactions into biological pairs (parent and child) and functional pairs (an adult, other than the parent, and child).

Paxton (1971), while studying the effects of a particular drug on the hyperactivity of children, noticed specific patterns of behavior in the way the mother related to her child. Hyperactive children were placed into either the drug/experimental group or the placebo/control group, and, inadvertently, Paxton became involved in a study of socialization through a project created primarily to test the effect of a drug. Though it was not possible to arrange for direct mother-child observations before and after the treatment, Paxton observed that, despite a change in the child's behavior due to the drug, the mother's behavior continued to be based on her expectations of her child's past performance. Paxton hypothesized a "lag effect," a disruption and reorganization of behavioral patterns by the mother to accommodate the "new" behavior

of the child.

Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) studied the "strategies" of parents toward their ten year old sons. The sons were divided into two groups, high and low achievers. The boys were then placed into problem sovling situations in which the parents could both observe and encourage them. The problems were difficult enough that the parents could see their children struggle to get the answer. Rosen and D'Andrade found that parents of high achievers encouraged their children more than parents of low achievers, but the parents of high achievers interfered with their children less than the parents of the low achieving boys.

Osofsky and O'Connell (1972) used a similar approach to Rosen and D'Andrade. However, here the experimenters wished to show how children can manipulate parents. Unknown to the parents, the children had been instructed to either ask for help or not to ask for help from their parents. Each child was given a puzzle of equal difficulty for their age range and intelligence. Parents could both observe and encourage them. Osofsky and O'Connell found that children who acted dependent (i.e., continually asked for help) elicited more controlling behavior in their mothers and fathers than children who had not asked for parental assistance. Also, the mothers and fathers whose children had asked for help became more physically and verbally involved with their children.

Hilton (1967) studied and compared mothers of first borns and only children to the mothers of more than one child in situations in which their child succeeds or fails at a task. The

children where all four year olds. The mothers were allowed to watch their children working on puzzles, but half of the mothers were led to believe that their child had not done the task as well as the other children. Then there was a repeat of the first situation. However, this time all children were successful in solving the puzzles. Hilton showed that mothers of an only child and first borns responded more intensely than mothers of more than one child in 1) giving support to their child when he or she succeeded, and 2) withdrawing support when the child was perceived by the mother as failing the task.

In studies of functional pairs (i.e., an adult, other than the parent, and the child), Etzel and Gewirtz (1967) modified the behavior of infants in a nursery by extinguishing crying and reinforcing eye contact and smiling. Though the behavioral changes in the infants and the subsequent effects of these changes in altering behavior of the caretaker (in this case, nurses) did not occur in close temporal proximity like the above mentioned studies (i.e., the conditioning procedure took several days, and detection by the staff of the changed behavior took several days), the nurses who previously spent minimal time with the infants increased their interactions with the infants considerably after the experimental procedure.

Berberich (1971) has also studied functional pairs. His study is interesting because he understood that it is not necessary to actually use a child to induce parent-like behavior. Instead, using seven adult women, the investigator instructed the subjects to

teach a child (hidden from them) a marble sorting task. The experimenter gave the subjects feedback on the child's progress in learning the task. Berberich found that by varying the type of feedback given to the subjects he was controlling 1) the motor behavior of the subjects, 2) their use of tangible reinforcers, 3) verbal reward, and 4) punishment. The adults were introduced to the child at the end of the experiment.

Siegel (1963) used the child's behavior as an independent variable to measure adult response. The children were retardates whose ages ranged from ten to fifteen years. He divided the children into two groups of high and low verbal ability. The task was to have an adult help the child assemble a puzzle. Adults and children had had no previous contact with each other. Siegel showed that adults interact more frequently, more redundantly but with shorter responses to the low verbal children.

Briefly, when comparing biological and functional pairs, children seem to have greater increments of response to strangers when doing a task than parents (Stevenson, Keen, and Knights, 1963), mothers use more encouraging statements with other children than their own kids (Halverson and Waldrop, 1970), and children appear to be more obedient to strangers than their own parents, or at least adopt a more conservative strategy (Landauer, Carlsmith, and Lepper, 1970).

In summarizing this first category, the Paxton (1971) study has some profound implications and yet it is the least emperical.

A reasonably objective and unobtrusive pretest-posttest measure of mother-child interaction was needed. Instead, there is only an observation by Paxton. However, the observation is an important one: though the child had dramatically altered his behavior, the mother continued to respond to the child based on her expectations of her past interactions with him. This action has both a behavioral and philosophical component. Behaviorally, much in the fashion of the secondary autonomous ego function (Hartmann, 1939), the mother has learned to respond to the child in a particular way; that, over time, this behavioral pattern may become autonomous -- being brought to the foreground under specific moments of stress. The mother then can 1) disrupt and reorganize her relationship to the child (i.e., Paxton's "lag effect"), or 2) if such a disruption creates severe anxiety in the mother, she may attempt to return the child to the original relationship. That is, and this will bring in the philosophical component, there conceivably is more to it than merely responding to the child in a new way: Sartre (1953) in <u>L'être et le Néant</u> argues that choices (original choice) are derived out of who the person is (the fundamental project),e.g., a passive-aggressive individual making passive-aggressive choices. So there is the possibility that the mother must disrupt a <u>system</u> of relationships much in the way Minuchin (1975) discusses the restructuring of a family system by altering one of its components (members). What is important

here is that the mother is experiencing disruption through her interchange with her child.

Each of the studies presented in this area illustrate how the child is manipulating his or her environment: 1) the child shaping the degree of parent control by pretending to have the need to be rescued (Osofsky and O'Connell, 1972), 2) the child shaping the amount of parental encouragement (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959), 3) the giving and withdrawing of love and support (Hilton, 1967), 4) the giving of time and attention (Etzel and Gewirtz, 1967), and 5) the child eliciting degrees of verbal interaction, tangible reinforcers, punishment, and motor behavior from adults (Berberich, 1971; siegel, 1963).

At the very least the individual is not an isolate in the world. And socialization can be theorized to continue as long as the organism has the capacity to learn. In part, learning can be viewed as ordering the world, giving it meaning in a particular way, and, equally important, getting support from other people, syntaxic validation, of one's system of world order. Individuals who have minimal psychopathology probably continue to adjust their ordering system in a consensual way, i.e., through interface with people and the environment. Such an idea would not be different for parents and children.

Parental Discipline

Bronfenbrenner (1961) studied internalization of personal responsibility in children created through the disciplinary

techniques of their parents. He had teachers rate tenth grade students on interpersonal and classroom responsibility. The students were asked to describe parental characteristics. Bronfenbrenner found that students who were rated low on responsibility by their teachers reported rejection and neglect by their parents. There were also sex differences. Boys that did not have firm discipline by their fathers were associated with low responsibility. The opposite appeared true for girls. That is, the "presence of strong paternal discipline...was related to low responsibility" (Martin, p. 501). Bronfenbrenner hypothesized that strong discipline for girls creates a risk of oversocialization, i.e., both inhibition and passivity, while boys risk undersocialization if the discipline is not firm enough.

Nye (1958) in Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior states:

> "We consider discipline to be related to delinquent behavior by affecting each of the elements of social control. (1) If it is extremely restrictive it may prevent the adolescent from meeting his recreational and associational needs in his peer group. (2) If it is absent or inadequate, he lacks a portion of direct control over his actions outside and inside the family. If parents make no demands or make no effort to enforce their demands, the child not only lacks external controls over his behavior; he also lacks a set of clear-cut parental expectations to which his parents obviously attach importance and which might be incorporated into his personality as internalized controls. (3) If it is unfair or if partiality is shown, it may be associated with an ambivalent or negative attitude toward the parent which reduces the indirect control that can be exercised by the parent. An attitude of this type toward parents is thought to make it difficult for the parent to act as an agent in the formation of an adequate conscience in the child..." (P. 79).

Nye's data came from a twenty-five percent sample of all boys and girls, grades 9 through 12, in three medium-sized towns (population 10,000 to 30,000) in Washington State. A variety of data was collected through the use of questionnaires (e.g., socio-economic status, spatial mobility, parental disposition, parental appearance, discipline, responsibility, and so on). The following tables show some of the experimenter's results in the area of discipline.

Table 1

Fairness of Punishment by Father*

	Most Delinquent		Least Delinquent		N	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	B	G
	Percent		Percent			
Always fair	30	20	70	80	168	164
Usually fair	27	30	73	70	113	121
Sometimes fair	43	35	57	65	44	49
Seldom or never fair	55	44	45	56	20	34

For boys: chi square = 9.3 $P < .05$ C = .22

For girls: Chi square = 11.48 $P < .01$ C = .24

*When my father punishes me he is fair about it. (1) Always _____ (2)Usually _____ (3) Sometimes_____ (4) Seldom_____ (5) Never____

One interesting feature of the Nye study was that unfairness of punishment by the mother was statistically not significant in its relationship to delinquency. "Traditionally, the more severe punishment is administered by the father, which may account in part for its closer relationship to delinquent behavior" (p. 80).

However, inconsistency of punishment by mothers is related to delinquency in girls rather than boys.

Table 2

Failure of Mother to Punish*

	Most Delinquent		Least Delinquent		N	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	Percent		Percent			
Never	30	22	70	78	63	69
Seldom	24	18	76	82	98	95
Sometimes	35	31	65	69	111	116
Frequently	37	23	63	77	57	60
Very often	49	49	51	51	35	45

For boys: chi square = 7.9 (non-significant)

For girls: chi square = 17.1 $P < .01$ $C = .27$

*Does your mother ever tell you she is going to punish you if you do something and then doesn't punish you? (1)Very often_____ (2)Frequently_____(3)Sometimes_____(4)Seldom_____(5)Never_____

Nye's data show that least delinquency is present where mothers seldom fail to punish. Other findings by Nye include 1) children feeling less accepted by parents when parents use nagging and the withdrawal of love, 2) the disciplinary role of the father is more closely associated with delinquency than the role of the mother, and 3) the mother is predominant in the areas of strictness and, as previously mentioned, consistency of punishment. That is, as Nye has theorized, "if punishment is frequently withheld, the adolescent is not sure that it will be administered, with a consequent loss of deterrent effect" (p. 82). Finally, Nye found that delinquency is less in families that explain why the child is being punished. "Such explanation might be expected to assist in

the internalization of the required or prohibited behavior" (p.83).

Parke (1969) hypothesized that cognitive structuring, or what the child tells him-or-herself in the face of temptation, will control behavior more than an external punishing stimulus. in his study, there were two degrees of punishment -- high (96db) and low (65db) buzzer sounds; there were also two types of cognitive structuring, high and low. Children were randomly assigned to either the high or low cognitive structured groups. The low cognitive structured group was told merely that there were specific toys in the room that they were not allowed to touch, and that when they would touch them a buzzer would sound. No reason or explanation was given as to why they should not touch them. In the high cognitive structured group, a detailed reason was given as to why specific toys should not be touched. The high cognitive structured group was also told that if they did pick up a toy they were not allowed to touch a buzzer would sound, but along with the buzzer the experimenter would say, "No, that one might get broken." Parke found that regardless of the intensity of the buzzer the low cognitive group deviated from the experimenter's instructions. This was not true for the high cognitive group. Parke theorized that the mediating cognition was controlling the tendency to divate.

In summarizing the area of parental discipline, there seem to be two factors: 1) whether discipline has been internalized or externalized by the child, and 2) parental consistency in

disciplinary practices.

The purpose of discipline seems to be twofold. First, to structure or shape the child's part within the family system, a sort of microsocialization, and, secondly, hopefully, if the family is not too egocentric or pathological, to generalize this microsocialization process to the society. In everyday life, of course, this simplified twofold purpose of discipline is not so clearly delineated.

From Nye's (1958) work what emerges is the delicacy of disciplinary techniques on children: 1) severe restrictiveness can produce a) a socialization which is external in its orientation, e.g., a fear of being caught, and b) failure to advance the socialization process to needs outside of the family system, specifically, the peer group, 2) inconsistent or inadequate discipline reduces clear-cut parental expectations; thus, reduces responsibility (Bronfenbrenner, 1961), and the internalized controls of the child, and, finally, 3) discipline seen as unfair by the child will reduce the potency of the parent as an agent that can render an appropriate conscience in the child.

Parke (1969) summed up what appears to work best: 1) clearly stated rules, 2) an explanation or reason for the rules, and 3) clearly stated punishment that is consistent but not severely restrictive.

Sociability

Buss and Polmin (1975) believe that "the most important temperament in child-rearing appears to be sociability. The highly sociable person, by definition, seeks relationships and

and offers affection" (p.215).

Schaffer and Emerson (1964) attempted to show the earliest manifestations of the temperament of sociability in infants through direct observation of parent-infant interaction as well as questionnaires for the parent. Differences were shown between infants labeled "cuddlers" and "noncuddlers."

> "To illustrate the difference between the two groups, the following phrases may be quoted from the reports given by the mothers of the noncuddlers,i.e., that form of physical contact where the baby is picked up, held with both arms in an upright position on the adult's lap, pressing against her shoulder and usually given some skin-to-skin contact such as kissing or cheek stroking:
>
> Gets restless when cuddled, turns face away and begins to struggle.
> Will not allow it, fights to get away.
> Has never liked this since able to struggle, squirms and whimpers.
> Gets restless, pushes you away.
> Wriggles and arches back, and only stops when you put him down again.
> Restless and whiny until allowed back in cot.
> Will kick and thrash with his arms, and if you persist will begin to cry.
>
> These phrases may be contrasted with the following from the mothers of the cuddlers.
>
> Cuddles you back.
> Snuggles into you.
> Holds quite still and puts on a sloppy face.
> Loves it.
> Laps it up.
> Would let me cuddle him for hours on end" (p. 3).

Buss and Plomin (1975) point out that the strength of the need is not as important for sociability as how the need is satisfied. "When the nonsociable child needs to be soothed, he

prefers asocial means" (p.97).

Moss (1967) interviewed expecting mothers prior to the birth of their child. He did a subjective interview measure of the woman's acceptance of her nurturant role. Moss found that there were statistically significant differences in acceptance/nonacceptance of the nurturant role in relation to observed maternal responsiveness when the infant was three weeks old. Robson, Pedersen, and Moss (1969) did a similar study methodologically, but this time measuring the interest the expecting mother had in affectionate contact. A positive correlation was shown between mothers high in affectionate contact and mother-infant mutual gazing. Moss, Robson, and Pedersen (1969), again using similar methodology, found that the animation in the expecting mother's voice correlated positively with the amount of stimulation she eventually gave to her infant.

Ainsworth and Bell (1969) explored mother-child interactions assoicated with feeding, with particular interest in infant attachment to the mother and exploratory behavior by the infant. The population was twenty-two white, middle-class women and their infants. The women and their babies were directly observed for four hour periods every three weeks until the infants were fifty four weeks old. These observations were limited to the ways in which the mothers fed their babies. At age one the infants were observed with regard to attachment and exploratory behaviors. The infants were put into a variety of situations which include: mother and infant; mother, stranger, and infant; stranger and infant;

mother and infant. Ainsworth and Bell found that 1) infants who had a strong attachment to their mothers but used them as a secure base for exploration had feeding interactions where the mother was mostly sensitive to the demands and the rhythms of her baby, and 2) infants that either lacked interest in reuniting with mother or maintaining contact with her had feeding situations in which mother was relatively unresponsive or insensitive to their needs.

Martin (1975) states:

> "...Higher levels of maternal stimulation (auditory, visual, touch, and kinesthetic) are related to greater infant attachment ...The extent to which the mother's stimulation is contingent upon the infant's responses, her sensitivity to the infant's signals, would seem to be an especially important factor (also) in facilitating attachment...(Importantly,) the same factors that facilitate attachment may also contribute to the development of the infant's general intellectual and social competencies" (p.481).

In doing a summary of the area of sociability, Wolman (1968), in his discussion of the psychoanalytic view of socialization, states that "object-love is the prototype of social relations. The socialization of the child depends on his environment. An unfavorable environment thwarts the development of object-love, and facilitates narcissistic fixations" (p. 110). A caretaker who cannot step outside of his or her self-interests and become involved with other people will not be able to teach object-love to the child. Freud's idea of object-love parallels Buss and

Polmin's idea of sociability. A woman's acceptance of her "nurturant role" (Moss, 1967) is not merely a woman who agrees to have a baby; rather, an argument can be made that this is an individual whose life enriches and is enriched through an interaction with other people. This premise includes highly affectionate would-be mothers (Robson, Pedersen, and Moss, 1969) as well as highly animated would-be mothers (Moss, Robson, and Pedersen, 1969): such persons may be said to be capable of communicating their needs (e.g., verbally, facial expression, gesture), and, whether it be affection or some other need, having their needs met by other people. In part, this is what Laing (1959) calls "ontological security" (i.e., security in being):

> "A man may have a sense of his presence in the world as a real, alive, whole, and, in a temporal sense, a continuous person...He can live out into the world and meet others: a world and others experienced as equally real, alive, whole, and continuous...Such a basically ontologically secure person will encounter all the hazards of life... from a centerally firm sense of his own and other people's reality and identity" (p.39).

Delinquency

Glueck and Glueck (1962) have dramatically shown the importance of parental sociability (or the lack of it) on a population labeled, "delinquent." Using both environmental factors (44), and physiologic, neurologic, psychologic and psychiatric traits (66), the authors developed a total of 2,904 correlations from a population of 500 delinquent children from two correctional schools in Massachusetts. In the area of sociability, a sampling of correlations

include: 1) a distant mother correlated with a child's feelings of resentment and hostility, 2) hostility was found to be conditioned by a father's lack of affection for his son, 3) a greater proportion of delinquents than nondelinquents stem from broken homes (e.g., death, desertion, separation, or divorce), 4) Incompatible parents (e.g., extreme tension, quarreling) seem to produce more delinquent children and highly restless children than compatible parents, 5) "an atmosphere of indifference or inhospitality on the part of parents to the friends of a child is more characteristic of the father and mothers of delinquents than of nondelinquents" (p.131), 6) "poor maternal disciplinary practices (e.g., extreme permissiveness, or overstrictness, or inconsistency)... (are) more characteristic of mothers of delinquents than nondelinquents" (p.133), 7) Overstrict discipline has been correlated with the development of hostility in a child, 8) permissiveness (usually with regard to the noncaring parent) has been correlated to a child's sense of isolation, 9) erratic discipline has been correlated with a lack of conscientiousness in the delinquent child, and 10) physical punishment appears to produce extreme restlessness in a child, and restlessness has been correlated more with delinquent than nondelinquent kids.

There are a number of social factors found in the Glueck and Glueck study. Table 4 gives a comprehensive list of the major social components.

Table 3

Social Factor Incidence Among Delinquents and Nondelinquents

Factors	Percentages of respective Totals			
	Delinquents	Nondelinquents	Diff.	P
Crowded Home (more than two occupants per bedroom)	32.7%	24.8%	7.9%	.01
Unclean and Disorderly Home	51.3	34.5	16.8	.01
Delinquency of Father	66.2	32.0	34.2	.01
Delinquency of Mother	44.8	15.0	29.8	.01
Alcoholism of Father	62.8	39.0	23.8	.01
Alcoholism of Mother	23.0	7.0	16.0	.01
Emotional Disturbance of Father	44.0	18.0	26.0	.01
Emotional Disturbance of Mother	40.2	17.6	22.6	.01
Serious Physical Ailment of Father	39.6	28.6	11.0	.01
Serious Physical Ailment of Mother	48.6	33.0	15.6	.01
Financial Dependence of Family (usually dependent)	36.2	14.6	21.6	.01
Poor work habits of Father	62.4	28.9	33.5	.01
Poor Management of Family Income	66.3	43.8	22.5	.01
Careless Household Routine	75.6	50.9	24.7	.01
Lack of Cultural Refinement in Home	91.7	81.9	9.8	.01
Lack of Family Self-Respect	43.2	10.1	33.1	.01
Lack of Family Ambition	89.4	69.9	19.5	.01
Poor Conduct Standards of Family	90.4	54.0	36.4	.01
Incompatibility of Parents	63.2	34.7	28.5	.01

Table 4

Social Factor Incidence Among Delinquents and Nondelinquents

Factors	Percentages of Respective Totals			
	Delinquents	Nondelinquents	Diff.	P
Gainful Employment of Mother	47.0	33.0	14.0	.01
Unsuitable Supervision of Boy by Mother	63.9	13.0	50.9	.01
Parents Uninterested in Boy's Companions	79.6	61.9	17.7	.01
Lack of Family Cohesiveness	84.0	38.3	45.7	.01
Rank of Boy Among Siblings (middle child)	60.0	48.2	11.8	.01
Rearing in Broken Home	60.6	34.2	26.4	.01
Rearing by Parent Substitutes	46.0	12.0	34.0	.01
Indifference or Hostility of Father to Boy	59.8	19.4	40.4	.01
Indifference or Hostility of Mother to Boy	27.9	4.5	23.4	.01
Indifference or Hostility of Siblings to Boy	28.2	7.2	21.0	.01
Unsuitable Discipline of Boy by Father (lax, overstrict or erratic)	94.3	44.5	49.8	.01
Unsuitable Discipline of Boy by Mother (lax, overstrict or erratic)	95.8	34.4	61.4	.01
Physical Punishment of Boy by Father	67.8	34.7	33.1	.01
Physical Punishment of Boy by Mother	55.6	34.6	21.0	.01
Threatening or Scolding of Boy by Mother	46.9	37.0	9.9	.01
Unacceptability of Father to Boy for Emulation	30.6	7.0	23.6	.01

In summarizing delinquency, particularly with regard to the parenting side of delinquency as an antithesis of sociability, Laing (1967) seems to again be appropriate:

> "Love and violence, properly speaking, are polar opposities. Love lets the other be, but with affection and concern. Violence attempts to constrain the other's freedom, to force him to act in the way we desire, but with ultimate lack of concern, with indifference to the other's own existence or destiny...We are effectively destroying ourselves by violence masquerading as love" (p. 58).

Though located in one geographic area, Massachusetts, the monumental amount of data of the Glueck and Glueck (1962) study is generally indicative of the delinquency interactional process between parents and children (see Nye, pp. 24-26). Extreme permissiveness, overstrictness and/or inconsistency in disciplining children may lead to socially unacceptable behavior. Outside of discipline, these same attitudes (i.e., in the form of rigidity and/or narcissistic or self-involved preoccupation) can create ineffective models for the child. Psychoanalytically, the inability of the parent to evolve to a state of object-love and, concomitantly, fixating in narcissism, may lead the parent to mystification (Laing, 1959): that is, the parent will respond to his or her own needs but project these needs onto the child. Theoretically, then, a parent who is incapable of object-love will have a difficult time differentiating his or her needs from the needs of the child.

For Freud (1914), the infant begins in a state of primary narcissism, i.e., there is no separation between the outside and the inside, the self and the world are one. The infant does not expect to be pleased and satisified by another person; rather, because the one being pleased and the one doing the pleasing are the same infantile entity, the infant-world either is or is not pleasing. The violence of adult narcissism is the inability to recognize the legitimacy of another living entity outside of the self,e.g., a baby raising a baby is a difficult scene to picture.

The Glueck and Glueck data constantly touches on adult narcissism: a) unclean and disorderly homes, b) poor work habits of the parent, c) poor management of family income, d) indifference of parent toward child, e) careless household routine, and f) lack of family cohesiveness are examples of correlations that psychoanalytically suggest that the parents still need parents.

Summary

There were four different areas in reviewing the literature for the current study: 1) parent-child interaction, an apparently complex process where both the parent and the child appear to shape each other's response, 2) parental discipline, which deals with the degree of internalized social responsibility as well as parental models of aggressive or nonaggressive behavior, 3) sociability, as a preferred parenting temperament, and 4) delinquency, which has been looked at from the position of parenting and particularly as an opposing force to sociability, i.e., parenting characteristics that exist in binary opposition to sociability.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this investigation was to see how the effects of varying degrees of parental sociability (high/low) interact with the child's temperament (easy/difficult) on a youth population labeled "delinquent" in the following manner: 1) how the child's temperament modifies parental behavior, particularly in regard to the degree of control (discipline) the parent places upon the child, and 2) the way parenting (i.e., the "style" of that control) shapes the child's self-regard, and how others view him or her (specifically, the teacher). This chapter will include: a) population, b) research design, c) measurement instruments, d) procedure, and e) data analysis.

Population

Subjects for this study were 358 male and female children between the ages of 8 and 14 years of age and their caretakers. All children have been labeled "delinquent" by various social agencies. Cunningham (1977) has described this population in the following way.

> "1) (F)requently break the rules, 2) may be disruptive in class and elsewhere, 3) are frequently aggressive or abusive to other people and property, and rarely participate in extracurricular activities. These child-

> ren may be frequently caught smoking in school or committing acts of vandalism" (pp.7-8).

The population and raw data for this study is from "The Pendleton Project" (Cunningham, 1977), an interdisciplinary program for delinquent children.

Geographically, the population is from the Chesapeake and Virginia Beach area (610 square miles) in southeastern Virginia.

Research Design

This was a descriptive design, correlational, with caretakers and children being divided into high/low sociability; easy/difficult temperament, respectively, attempting 1) to see the degree of control (discipline) the child will elicit from the parent, and 2) to look at how the style of parenting shapes the child's self-concept and how others view him or her (i.e., behavioral ratings from teachers). The procedure for creating high/low sociability groups and easy/difficult temperament groups was done by a median split of the middle 2/4ths of the population, both caretakers and children, a removal of 79% of the subject pool (see p.45 for data details).

Measurement Instruments

There are several data sources used in the current study: 1) the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (Piers and Harris, 1969), 2) the Teachers Behavioral Rating Scale (Cunningham, 1977), for teachers to rate the classroom behavior of the child, and 3) the Developmental History Form (Cunningham,

1977), which includes history on eating habits of the child, toilet training, contact with the child by caretakers, discipline, play with peers and siblings, and different types of acting out behaviors prior to the age of six (for forms, see Appendix A).

Piers and Harris (1969) standardized their Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale (The Way I Feel About Myself) on 1,183 children in grades 4 - 12 in a single Pennsylvania school district. Bentler (1970) states:

> "There appears to be no consistent sex or grade differences in means. The internal consistency of the scales ranges from .78 to .93 and retest reliability from .71 to .77. Correlates with similar instruments are in the mid-sixties, and the scale possesses teacher and peer validity coefficients on the order of .40. Care was taken that the scale not correlate unduly with social desirability, and reasonable success was achieved; however, quite high correlations, -.54 to -.69, exist with a measure of anxiety. The authors believe this correlation represents a true trait correlation rather than one of response style" (p. 245).

Cunningham (1977) was instrumental in creating both a) the Teacher Behavior Rating Scale, and b) the Developmental History Form. The first step in both forms "...was to do a multiple correlation using each question within an instrument as a dependent variable and all other questions within the questionnaire as independent variables" (p.3). Cunningham says:

> "If the other questions within the instrument could not be used to significantly predict the dependent question, then the dependent question

> was unrelated to all other questions within the instrument. Therefore, this question was not useful in describing...children because it could not be interpreted and would not have a strong reliability coefficient" (p. 3).

The second step was to use factor analysis (see Thurstone, 1947, Multiple Factor Analysis) to create subscales that could reduce variability in the data. Again, Cunningham:

> "The steps required in the determination of factors for data reduction were (1) the extraction of initial factors; (2) the rotation of these factors to a terminal solution; (3) the search for simple and interpretable factors or subscales; and (4) the elimination of variables which would not load on any of the identified factors. The basic approach was principle factoring with interaction" (p. 4).

On the Teacher Behavioral Rating Scale, four factors accounted for 62% of the variance in the data. Factor one was the selfish, self-centered, irritable child (e.g., easily upset, nervous, frustrated, hits, teases, accuses, complains, over-reacts, explosive, rebellious, and so on). Factor two was the well behaved child (e.g., calm, truthful, shares, self-control, works well, finishes work, responsible, and cooperates are some of the descriptive phrasing in this factor). Factor three was the clumsy and distractable, lethargic child, and factor four was the good student (e.g., initiates discussion, seeks out teacher, helps, tells interesting stories, applies new learning, and is responsive). The 1976-77 analysis of this form replicated

the analysis of the form done in 1975-76, and the factor scores were almost the same for the first 220 cases as they were in the 1975-76 analysis.

The Developmental History Form originally contained 133 questions and responses. Both the 1975-76 analysis and the 1976-77 analysis eliminated the same 15 variables, which left 118 questions. The 118 questions could be grouped into eight factors, which could account for 59% of the variance. These factors were 1) active early training by mother, 2) active child disciplined negatively by mother and positively by father, 3) the child's anti-social behavior, 4) pregnant working mother younger (40 below) than father, 5) early abnormal behavior (prior to age 6), 6) younger father (20 to 29) with older mother (30 to 39)/ weaned early, 7) punitive but indulgent father with fair disciplining by mother, and 8) father active with child/weaned late (no pathological family).

Only specific sections of the Developmental History Form were used in the current study. For sociability, activities between caretaker and child were used. For both mother and father, activities with their child included a) lap games, b) indoor games, c) outdoor games, d) reading or language building, and e) conversation or discussion. These interactions with the child were looked at prior to the age of six and after the age of six. For the temperament of the child, acting out behaviors

prior to age six were used, and these included a) fears, b) jealousy, c) bashfulness, d) stealing, e) temper tantrums, f) testing limits and rules, g) disobedience, h)disagreeable, i) destructive, j) aggressive, k) plays alone, l) demands own way, m) compliant but resentful, n) continues with maladaptive behavior even though negative consequences have resulted, o) cruel to animals or other children, p) complains that other children don't like him, and q) has nightmares. The final variable in the present study is parental control or discipline. This area has been divided up into two sections, ego-supportive and power-assertive, for both mothers and fathers. In the ego-supportive category there is a) praising, b) explanation, c) earning privileges, and d) material rewards. In the power assertive category there is a)scolding, b) threatening, c) spanking, and d) whipping.

Procedure

The raw data for The Pendleton Project (Cunningham, 1977) was gathered in the following manner: 1) for the Developmental History Form, case workers interviewed parents, 2) the Piers Harris was read by the child, and 3) the Behavioral Rating Scale of Teachers were filled out by teachers who had observed the subjects for at least three months (for details, see Appendix B).

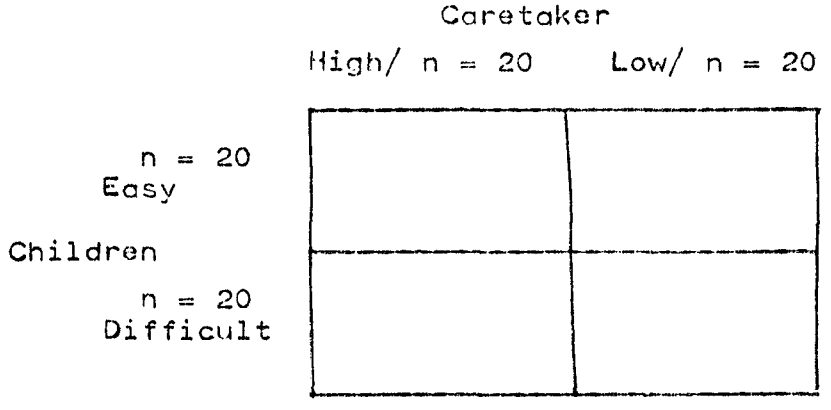
Data Analysis

All data was computed by an IBM 370/145 computer at the

Southeast Regional Computer Center located at the College of William and Mary.

In order to get high/low caretaker sociability groups and easy/difficult child temperament groups, two sections of the Developmental History Form were used: 1) activities by caretakers with children, and 2) acting out behaviors of children, respectively. A median split was done, removing the middle 2/4ths of the population, or 79% of the subject pool. Since the original population was 358 cases, the subject pool was reduced to a little over 80 subjects in any given analysis.

Figure 5



The reasoning behind such a severe split, besides creating the needed groups, is to initially show that the phenomenon (i.e., what is hypothesized) exist, if it exist at all. If what is hypothesized is not present in the extreme instance then more

than likely it will not be present anywhere else along the continuum.

After the median split on the subject pool, 12 two-way ANOVAs were done in the following manner:

1) Results of the Teacher Behavioral Rating Scale by High/Low Fathers and Easy/Difficult Children

2) Same for mothers

3) Same for parents (both mother + father)

4) Results of the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale by High/Low Fathers and Easy/Difficult Children

5) Same for mothers

6) Same for parents (both mother + father)

7) Ego-supportive discipline (mothers) by High/Low Mothers and Easy/Difficult Children

8) Ego-supportive discipline (fathers) by High/Low Fathers and Easy/Difficult Children

9) Ego-supportive discipline (parents = mother + father) by High/Low Parents and Easy/Difficult Children

10) Same for power-assertive (mothers)

11) Same for power-assertive (fathers)

12) Same for power-assertive (parents = mother + father)

The original hypotheses are broken down to nine hypotheses for the purpose of statistical treatment. The above ANOVAs will now be paired with the following hypotheses:

1) Parents high in sociability will be more ego-supportive in controlling their child than parents low in sociability.
ANOVAs #7 through #9 are used here.

2) Children with an easy temperament will elicit less severe control from their parents (i.e., ego-supportive) than children with a difficult temperament.
ANOVAs #7 through #9 are used here.

3) Parents low in sociability and who have children with a difficult temperament will be engaged in more severe forms of control (i.e., power-assertive) than all other combinations of children and parents.
ANOVAs #10 through #12 are used here.

4) Parents high in sociability will have children with better self-concepts than parents who are low in sociability.
ANOVAs #4 through #6 are used here.

5) Children with an easy temperament will have better self concepts than children with a difficult temperament.
ANOVAs #4 through #6 are used here.

6) Children with an easy temperament and who have parents who are high in sociability will have better self-concepts than all other combinations of children and parents.
ANOVAs #4 through #6 are used here.

7) Children with an easy temperament will have better behavioral ratings from their teachers than children with a

difficult temperament.

ANOVAs #1 through #3 are used here.

8) Parents high in sociability will have children that will be viewed more favorably by other persons (i.e., teachers) than parents who are low in sociability.

ANOVAs #1 through #3 are used here.

9) Children with a difficult temperament and who have parents low in sociability will be viewed less favorably by others (i.e., teachers) than all other combinatins of children and parents.

ANOVAs #1 through #3 are used here.

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS: Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bent, 1975) was used in the data analysis procedure.

Chapter 4

Results

In this chapter, the results of the present study are listed by hypotheses.

To avoid redundancy, some hypotheses are clustered together followed by the results.

Hypothesis 1

Parents high in sociability will be more ego-supportive in controlling their child than parents low in sociability.

The correlational directionality of hypothesis #1 has ego-supportive control with the caretaker rather than the eliciting effect of the child (see Tables #5 to #7). There was a statistically significant F value for mothers (F = 43.737, $P < .00001$), for fathers (F = 105.532, $P < .00001$), and parents (F = 82.274, $P < .00001$). By an examination of means (see Table # 8), hypothesis #1 faired well for fathers ($\overline{X}$ High = 7.2 / $\overline{X}$ Low = 3.6), mothers ($\overline{X}$ High = 7.9 / $\overline{X}$ Low = 5.5), and for parents ($\overline{X}$ High = 7.2 / $\overline{X}$ Low = 4.0).

Hypothesis 2

Children with an easy temperament will elicit less severe control from their parents (i.e., ego-supportive) than children with a difficult temperament.

Table 5

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Fathers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Ego-Supportive Behavior on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	60.180	2	30.090	52.767	.0001
Father	60.179	1	60.179	105.532	.00001
Child	0.200	1	0.200	0.351	.55
2-Way	0.487	1	0.487	0.854	.36
Within	42.198	74	0.570		
Total	102.865	77	1.336		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	3.750	0.780
Low Involved + Difficult Children	1.868	0.906
High Involved + Easy Children	3.598	0.690
Low Involved + Easy Children	1.835	0.820

$P < .05$

Table 6

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Mothers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Ego-Supportive Behavior on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	26.588	2	13.294	21.929	.0001
Mother	26.514	1	26.514	43.737	.00001
Child	0.932	1	0.932	1.537	.22
2-Way	0.243	1	0.243	0.401	.53
Within	44.254	73	0.606		
Total	71.085	76	0.935		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	4.150	0.580
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.833	0.831
High Involved + Easy Children	3.814	0.631
Low Involved + Easy Children	2.780	0.920

$P < .05$

Table 7

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Parents with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Ego-Supportive Behavior on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	55.199	2	27.600	41.680	.0001
Parents	54.480	1	54.480	82.274	.00001
Child	0.005	1	0.005	0.007	.93
2-Way	0.899	1	0.899	1.358	.25
Within	50.325	76	0.662		
Total	106.424	79	1.347		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	3.515	0.931
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.087	0.944
High Involved + Easy Children	3.715	0.527
Low Involved + Easy Children	1.975	0.905

$P < .05$

Table 8

Means: Ego-Supportive Behavior

	$\bar{X}$
Father	
High Involved + Difficult Children	3.7
Low Involved + Difficult Children	1.8
High Involved + Easy Children	3.5
Low Involved + Easy Children	1.8
$\Sigma \bar{X}$ =	10.8
Mother	
High Involved + Difficult Children	4.1
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.8
High Involved + Easy Children	3.8
Low Involved + Easy Children	2.7
$\Sigma \bar{X}$ =	11.3
Parents	
High Involved + Difficult Children	3.5
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.1
High Involved + Easy Children	3.7
Low Involved + Easy Children	1.9
$\Sigma \bar{X}$ =	11.2

Hypothesis 3

Parents low in sociability and who have children with a difficult temperament will be engaged in more severe forms of control (i.e., power-assertive) than all other combinations of children and parents.

First, looking only at the direction of the correlation, regardless of high/low sociability and easy/difficult temperament, the direction for mothers and children (see Table #9) was with the child ($\underline{F}$ = 16.778, $\underline{P} < .00001$). The directionality of the correlation was split for fathers and children (see Table #10), but still in favor of the child (Fathers -- $\underline{F}$ = 6.366, $\underline{P} < .01$ / Child -- $\underline{F}$ = 8.956, $\underline{P} < .004$). For parents and children (see Table #11) the direction was again with the child ($\underline{F}$ = 12.062, $\underline{P} < .001$).

Through an examination of means (see Tables #12 to #14), hypothesis #3 did poorly. As a unit, parents of high sociability are more power-assertive than parents of low sociability ($\overline{X}$ High = 5.9 / $\overline{X}$ Low = 5.3), but parents of high sociability are also more ego-supportive than parents of low sociability ($\overline{X}$ High = 7.2 / $\overline{X}$ Low = 4.0). However, fathers low in sociability are more power-assertive ($\overline{X}$ = 7.2) than fathers high in sociability ($\overline{X}$ = 6.0). This also held true for

mothers ($\bar{X}$ High = 5.7 / $\bar{X}$ Low = 6.2).

Both hypotheses (#2 and #3) did not have supporting data. In hypothesis #2 (see Tables #8, #15), consistently, whether or not parents were high or low in sociability, whether or not they were viewed singularly (mother, father), or as a unit (parents), power-assertive behavior was directed toward the child labeled "easy" more than the child labeled "difficult."

Hypothesis 4

Parents high in sociability will have children with better self-concepts than parents who are low in sociability.

Hypothesis 5

Children with an easy temperament will have better self concepts than children with a difficult temperament.

Hypothesis 6

Children with an easy temperament and who have parents who are high in sociability will have better self-concepts than all other combinations of children and parents.

The direction here for the child's self-concept is more with the caretaker than the child (see Tables #16 to #18). This is statistically significant for the father ($F = 3.662$, $P < .05$), split between mother and child (Mothers -- $F = 3.613$, $P < .06$ / Child -- $F = 9.880$, $P < .002$), and bordering on statistical significance for parents ($F = 3.621$, $P < .06$).

A breakdown of means (see Table #19) gives support to both hypothesis #4 and hypothesis #6. For hypothesis #5, easy tempered

Table 9

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Mothers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Power-Assertive Control on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	13.049	2	6.525	8.872	.0001
Mother	1.600	1	1.000	2.176	.14
Child	12.339	1	12.339	16.778	.00001
2-Way	0.001	1	0.001	0.002	.97
Within	54.418	74	0.735		
Total	67.469	77	0.876		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.390	0.938
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.688	0.865
High Involved + Easy Children	3.209	0.558
Low Involved + Easy Children	3.491	1.093

$P < .05$

Table 10

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Fathers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Power-Assertive Control on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	12.927	2	6.464	7.203	.001
Father	5.713	1	5.713	6.366	.01
Child	8.037	1	8.037	8.956	.004
2-Way	0.940	1	0.940	1.047	.31
Within	68.203	76	0.897		
Total	82.070	79	1.039		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.588	0.829
Low Involved + Difficult Children	3.376	1.117
High Involved + Easy Children	3.438	0.763
Low Involved + Easy Children	3.736	1.091

$P < .05$

Table 11

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Parents with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Power-Assertive Control on Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	13.520	2	6.760	6.879	.002
Parents	0.734	1	0.734	0.747	.39
Child	11.854	1	11.854	12.062	.001
2 - Way	1.265	1	1.265	1.287	.26
Within	74.688	76	0.938		
Total	89.474	79	1.133		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.318	0.672
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.405	1.110
High Involved + Easy Children	3.550	0.566
Low Involved + Easy Children	2.929	1.429

$P < .05$

Table 12

Means: Differences in Parental Control

Parents: High Involved		Parents: Low Involved	
Ego-Support	Power-Assert	Ego-Support	Power-Assert
$\bar{X} = 7.2$	$\bar{X} = 5.9$	$\bar{X} = 4.0$	$\bar{X} = 5.3$
$\Sigma \bar{X} = 13.1$		$\Sigma \bar{X} = 9.3$	

Table 13

Means: Differences in Parental Control

Father: High Involved		Father: Low Involved	
Ego-Support	Power-Assert	Ego-Support	Power-Assert
$\bar{X} = 7.2$	$\bar{X} = 6.0$	$\bar{X} = 3.6$	$\bar{X} = 7.2$
$\sum \bar{X} = 13.2$		$\sum \bar{X} = 10.8$	

Table 14

Means: Differences in Parental Control

Mother: High Involved		Mother: Low Involved	
Ego-Support	Power-Assert	Ego-Support	Power-Assert
$\bar{X} = 7.9$	$\bar{X} = 5.7$	$\bar{X} = 5.5$	$\bar{X} = 6.2$
$\sum \bar{X} = 13.6$		$\sum \bar{X} = 11.7$	

Table 15

Means: Power-Assertive Behavior

	$\bar{X}$
Father	
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.6
Low Involved + Difficult Children	3.4
High Involved + Easy Children	3.4
Low Involved + Easy Children	3.8
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 13.2$
Mother	
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.4
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.7
High Involved + Easy Children	3.2
Low Involved + Easy Children	3.5
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 11.8$
Parents	
High Involved + Difficult Children	2.3
Low Involved + Difficult Children	2.4
High Involved + Easy Children	3.6
Low Involved + Easy Children	2.9
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 11.2$

children have better self-concepts than difficult children only if those children labeled "easy" are coupled with caretakers who are high in sociability. This held true for fathers ($\bar{X}$ High = 55/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 49), mothers ($\bar{X}$ High = 59/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 54), and parents ($\bar{X}$ High = 56/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 48).

Hypothesis 7

Children with an easy temperament will have better behavioral ratings from their teachers than children with a difficult temperament.

Hypothesis 8

Parents high in sociability will have children that will be viewed more favorably by other persons (i.e., teachers) than parents who are low in sociability.

Hypothesis 9

Children with a difficult temperament and who have parents low in sociability will be viewed less favorably by other persons (i.e., teachers) than all other combinations of children and parents.

The direction of the correlation is with the child rather than the caretaker (see Tables #20 to #23). Statistical significance was reached only with the child in relation to the father ($F = 6.572$, $P < .01$).

For hypothesis #7, an examination of means showed that

Table 16

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Fathers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Piers Self-Concept Scale for Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	1528.761	2	764.381	3.682	.03
Father	760.284	1	760.284	3.662	.05
Child	567.618	1	567.618	2.734	.10
2-Way	1.500	1	1.500	0.007	.93
Within	14531.602	70	207.594		
Total	16061.863	73	220.026		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	49.769	14.036
Low Involved + Difficult Children	43.647	14.751
High Involved + Easy Children	55.760	14.777
Low Involved + Easy Children	49.052	14.249

$P < .05$

Table 17

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Mothers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Piers Self-Concept Scale for Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	3373.258	2	1686.629	7.659	.001
Mother	795.570	1	795.570	3.613	.06
Child	2175.859	1	2175.859	9.880	.002
2-Way	43.382	1	43.382	0.197	.65
Within	14975.121	68	220.222		
Total	18391.762	71	259.039		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	49.923	13.425
Low Involved + Difficult Children	41.312	16.160
High Involved + Easy Children	59.640	13.717
Low Involved + Easy Children	54.222	16.049

$P < .05$

Table 18

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Parents with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Piers Self-Concept Scale for Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	1022.869	2	511.434	2.116	.12
Parents	875.125	1	875.125	3.621	.06
Child	62.188	1	62.188	0.257	.61
2-Way	3.818	1	3.818	0.016	.90
Within	16435.184	68	241.694		
Total	17461.871	71	245.942		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	53.615	12.566
Low Involved + Difficult Children	47.111	17.371
High Involved + Easy Children	56.000	14.972
Low Involved + Easy Children	47.833	16.584

$P < .05$

Table 19

Means: Piers Self-Concept Scale for Children

	$\bar{X}$
Father	
High Involved + Difficult Children	49
Low Involved + Difficult Children	43
High Involved + Easy Children	55
Low Involved + Easy Children	49
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 196$
Mother	
High Involved + Difficult Children	49
Low Involved + Difficult Children	41
High Involved + Easy Children	59
Low Involved + Easy Children	54
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 203$
Parents	
High Involved + Difficult Children	53
Low Involved + Difficult Children	47
High Involved + Easy Children	56
Low Involved + Easy Children	48
	$\Sigma \bar{X} = 205$

children with an easy temperament have better behavioral ratings from their teachers only if the children are coupled with caretakers who are high in sociability. With a lower score being more positive, this held true for fathers ($\bar{X}$ High = 123/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 131), mothers ($\bar{X}$ High = 117/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 136), and for parents ($\bar{X}$ High = 121/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 134).

Hypotheses #8 and #9 did not have supporting data. For example, the combination of parents high in sociability with children of a difficult temperament were rated less favorably than parents low in sociability with the same type of child ($\bar{X}$ High = 136/ $\bar{X}$ Low = 132).

Summary

Hypotheses #2, #3, #5, #8 and #9 did not have supporting data. This is conceivably a population problem, the subject pool itself. A discussion of all hypotheses will be done in the following chapter. Hypotheses #1, #4, #6 and #7 had varying degrees of support: hypothesis #1 had significant F values at $P < .00001$, and hypotheses #4, #6 and #7 had means that were favorable toward each of the hypotheses.

Table 20

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Fathers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Behavioral Ratings of Teachers Toward Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	5390.434	2	2695.217	3.478	.04
Father	131.178	1	131.178	0.169	.68
Child	5093.207	1	5093.207	6.572	.01
2-Way	602.563	1	602.563	0.777	.38
Within	61227.750	79	775.035		
Total	67220.750	82	819.765		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	145.000	13.550
Low Involved + Difficult Children	141.368	16.163
High Involved + Easy Children	123.769	34.756
Low Involved + Easy Children	131.047	34.195

$P < .05$

Table 21

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Mothers with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Behavioral Ratings of Teachers Toward Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	1291.429	2	645.714	0.425	.65
Mother	1026.649	1	1026.649	0.676	.41
Child	149.915	1	149.915	0.099	.75
2-Way	3474.194	1	3474.194	2.287	.14
Within	112389.313	74	1518.774		
Total	117154.938	77	1521.493		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	133.666	40.392
Low Involved + Difficult Children	125.388	47.639
High Involved + Easy Children	117.423	40.893
Low Involved + Easy Children	136.368	22.559

$P < .05$

Table 22

Two-way Analysis of Variance: High/Low Involved Parents with Easy/Difficult Children, Using Behavioral Ratings of Teachers Toward Children

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	P
Main Effects	1469.591	2	734.795	0.563	.57
Parents	511.950	1	511.950	0.392	.53
Child	779.728	1	779.728	0.598	.44
2-Way	1390.484	1	1390.484	1.066	.30
Within	99176.438	76	1304.953		
Total	102036.563	79	1291.602		

Group	Means	Standard Deviation
High Involved + Difficult Children	136.562	39.342
Low Involved + Difficult Children	132.400	35.698
High Involved + Easy Children	121.800	34.484
Low Involved + Easy Children	134.526	35.906

$P < .05$

Table 23

Means: Behavioral Ratings of Children by Teachers *

	$\bar{X}$
Father	
High Involved + Difficult Children	145
Low Involved + Difficult Children	141
High Involved + Easy Children	123
Low Involved + Easy Children	131
$\Sigma\bar{X}$ =	539
Mother	
High Involved + Difficult Children	133
Low Involved + Difficult Children	125
High Involved + Easy Children	117
Low Involved + Easy Children	136
$\Sigma\bar{X}$ =	511
Parents	
High Involved + Difficult Children	136
Low Involved + Difficult Children	132
High Involved + Easy Children	121
Low Involved + Easy Children	134
$\Sigma\bar{X}$ =	523

*The lower the number the more positive the rating.

Chapter 5

Summary, Conclusions, Limitations Significance and Recommendations

This chapter is designed to summarize and interpret the present study and its results. Conclusions, limitations, significance and recommendations for further research are also included.

Summary

Sears (1951) and Bell (1968) both spent considerable time attempting to understand how one or more individuals can effect the behavior of another individual. Sears had an explanation of human interaction that he called the "dyadic instigation action sequence" in which instrumental acts + intrapsychic events + environmental events = goal responses, one person playing off the response of another person. Bell's interest in human interaction is focused on the parent and child. In differentiating two types of parental control, upper-limit and lower-limit, Bell has paralleled the work of Sears by pairing an overt action with an intrapsychic event: the expectation of the parent toward the child, or, simply put, how the child "ought to be." According to Bell (1977) then, the child is controlling the caretaker's control of him or her (the child) by varying his or her intensity of activity, either beyond parental expectation (upper-limit) or below it (lower-limit).

The general hypothesis of this study is that a child's temperament (here labeled "easy" or "difficult") will elicit a controlling pressure of varying intensity by the parent onto the child, but the style in which the control is applied (here termed the degree of parental sociability) will shape the child's self-regard; thus, it will also shape the way others see and respond to him or her. This general hypothesis was broken down to nine (9) hypotheses for statistical analysis (see conclusions).

Temperament of the child was discussed in studies by Thomas, Chess, and Birch (1970), Buss and Plomin (1975), and Bell (1970). Buss and Plomin (1975) were relied on for a definition and understanding of parental sociability.

Bell and Harper (1977), in a review of parent-child studies, reported that the majority of research in this area has been done on bi-directional learning (i.e., the interaction of one child and one caretaker). The present study has looked at multi-directional learning: mother, father, child.

Specifically, this study was an attempt to understand multi-directional interaction on a particular youth population labeled "delinquent."

Statistical treatment of the data consisted of first dividing the population into 1) high/low caretaker sociability groups, and 2) easy/difficult child temperament groups by a median split,

removing the middle 2/4ths of the population, or 79% of the subject pool. After the median split on the subject pool, 12 two-way analyses of variance were used.

Conclusions

First, there will be a discussion of the nine (9) hypotheses used for statistical analysis. The data results will then be viewed in relation to the general hypothesis stated at the end of chapter one.

Hypothesis 1

The data supported the hypothesis that parents high in sociability were more ego-supportive in controlling their child than parents low in sociability. Ego-supportive behavior appears to be a phenomenon of the parent who is high in sociability rather than a behavior that a child can elicit from just any parent or caretaker. This is not to suggest that a child cannot "bring out" such behavior from a caretaker; rather, a caretaker must have the capacity for ego-supportive types of behavior.

Hypothesis 2

The data did not support the hypothesis that children with an easy temperament will elicit less severe control from their parents (i.e., ego-supportive) than children with a difficult temperament. Partially, this has to do with hypothesis #1, i.e., a caretaker must have the capacity to perform ego-supportive behavior.

partially, too, the caretaker appears to be autonomous, or somewhat autonomous, in deciding when he or she will give out ego-supportive behavior. For example, by means (see Table #8), fathers high in sociability give more ego-supportive control to difficult children ($\bar{X}$ = 3.7) than easy children ($\bar{X}$ = 3.5); the same for mothers ($\bar{X}$ = 4.1 to $\bar{X}$ = 3.8); however, as a unit, parents high in sociability do give more ego supportive control to children labeled "easy" ($\bar{X}$ = 3.7) than to children labeled "difficult" ($\bar{X}$ = 3.5). The main problem may be in the subject pool itself (see limitations). Besides the population, just for the sake of conjecture, the idea of the "unexpected" may work in favor of the difficult child and against the easy child. That is, conceivably, the easy child is expected to do the "proper" behavior just as the difficult child may be expected to do behaviors that are not "proper." So each time a child goes outside the boundary of a parental expectation, the child may meet with either positive (ego supportive behavior) or negative (power-assertive) results.

Hypothesis 3

The data did not support the hypothesis that parents low in sociability and who have children with a difficult temperament will be engaged in more severe forms of control (i.e., power assertive) than all other combinations of children and parents. Though, by means (see Table #15), fathers who are low in

sociability are more power-assertive ($\bar{X}$ = 7.2) than fathers who are high in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 6.0); and the situation is the same for mothers ($\bar{X}$ = 6.2 to $\bar{X}$ = 5.7); as a unit, however, parents high in sociability are both more ego-supportive and power-assertive than parents low in sociability. Unlike ego-supportive behavior, power-assertive behavior seems to be more related to the eliciting quality of the child. Still keeping in mind the problem of the subject pool (see limitations), the easy child may receive a negative (power-assertive) response from a caretaker when that child goes beyond the parental expectation boundary. Conceivably, as the caretaker gathers information on the child through many parent and child interactions, the caretaker may begin to define the child in a particular way, to create a stereotype, a set of expectations of how the child will probably act in a variety of situations. A child who has been continually difficult may be expected to act in a difficult way by the caretaker. A difficult child may actually receive less power-assertive behavior from the caretaker than an easy child due to the difficult child's fulfillment of the caretaker's expectations about him or her. The opposite effect may happen to a child labeled "easy": in the caretaker's expectations about the easy child, a child always doing the "correct" action, there may not be room to allow the easy child a degree of acting out or mischievous behavior.

Hypothesis 4

The data supported the hypothesis that parents high in sociability will have children with better self-concepts than parents who are low in sociability. The important factor here is not whether the child is labeled "easy" or "difficult" but, rather, the involvement (i.e., the degree of sociability) of the caretaker. If means are used as an example (see Table #19), difficult children of parents high in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 53) and easy children of parents high in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 56) have higher self-concept scores than difficult children of parents low in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 47) and easy children with parents low in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 48).

Hypothesis 5

The data partially supported the hypothesis that children with an easy temperament will have better self concepts than children with a difficult temperament, but the involvement of the parent (whether high or low in sociability) must be included. As above, in hypothesis #4, easy children of parents high in sociability do have higher scores ($\bar{X}$ = 56) than difficult children with the same type of parents ($\bar{X}$ = 53), but this does not hold true with the current data if we cross sociability categories (high for low). That is, an easy child with parents low in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 48) does not have a higher self-concept score than a difficult child with parents high in

sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 53). In this study, it is the degree of sociability in the caretaker that makes the difference in the self-concept score of the child, though easy children within a specific caretaker category (high/low) do have higher scores than difficult children.

Hypothesis 6

The data also supported the hypothesis that children with an easy temperament and who have parents who are high in sociability will have better self-concepts than all other combinations of children and parents (see above, hypotheses #4, #5).

Hypothesis 7

The data partially supported the hypothesis that children with an easy temperament will have better behavioral ratings from their teachers than children with a difficult temperament, but, again, keeping in mind that the lower the score the more positive the rating, easy children of parents high in sociability did better ($\bar{X}$ = 121) than easy children of parents low in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 134). However, the principle seen in the self-concept hypotheses where easy children had better scores than difficult children in specific caretaker categories (high/low) does not apply to behavioral ratings from teachers. For example, by means (see Table #23), difficult children of parents high in sociability do worse ($\bar{X}$ = 136) than difficult children with parents low in sociability ($\bar{X}$ = 132). In attempting to

explain the data, which must be understood as conjecture, conceivably the teacher may take the difficult child's homelife into account when judging the child's behavior: that is, difficult children of parents low in sociability (i.e., little interest in the child) may receive more time and concern from the teacher than difficult children of parents high in sociability. Low sociability caretakers might be seen by the teacher as a causative agent for the difficulty of the difficult child, but difficult children of parents high in sociability may not have that luxury.

Hypothesis 8

There does not appear to be supporting data for the hypothesis that parents high in sociability will have children that will be viewed more favorably by other persons (i.e., teachers) than parents who are low in sociability. There seems to be only one instance in the present study where data would support such an hypothesis: easy children of parents high in sociability are looked on more favorably by the teacher than any other combinations of children and parents.

Hypothesis 9

Finally, there is not supporting evidence in the data that children with a difficult temperament, who have parents low in sociability, will be viewed less favorably by other persons (i.e., teachers) than all other combinations of parents and children.

The logic used in attempting to understand hypothesis #7 can be used here. If parents low in sociability are viewed by teachers as a causative agent for difficult children, then this could explain why difficult children of parents low in sociability receive better behavioral ratings than difficult children whose parents are high in sociability.

General Hypothesis

The general hypothesis of this study is that a child's temperament (here labeled "easy" or "difficult") will elicit a controlling pressure of varying intensity by the parent onto the child, but the style in which the control is applied (here termed the degree of parental sociability) will shape the child's self-regard; thus, it will also shape the way others see and respond to him.

The following points of the hypothesis have supporting data.

(1) There is support for the notion that the style of parental control (high/low sociability) is related to the self-regard of the child.

(2) Support is complex, or, at best, ambiguous, when viewing the control aspect of the child's temperament on the caretaker. According to the data, there is a relationship between the child's temperament and the power-assertive behavior of the caretaker. This does not appear to be true with ego-supportive behavior.

(3) There is also ambigiousness when attempting to understand the behavioral ratings of teachers. Certainly, easy children of parents high in sociability not only have better self-concept scores than all other combinations of parents and children, and, as hypothesized, these children also have better behavioral ratings from the teachers. However, in some way, the degree of sociability of the caretaker is also involved.

Limitations

There are three major limitations to the present study. First, and probably less important than the other two limitations, is that the statistical analysis is correlational. That is, we are looking at relationships rather than X may have caused Y.

Secondly, the raw data gathered by the Pendleton Project was done by case workers. Information for the Developmental History Form was obtained through the case worker interviewing the caretaker. The caretaker's response to the Developmental History Form may have been quite different if he or she had answered the form without the case worker being present.

Thirdly, most importantly, is the population pool itself. The children from the Pendleton Project were all labeled "delinquent." Therefore, instead of "easy" or "difficult" children, this study really used the easiest of the difficult children and the most difficult of the difficult children, i.e., "easy-difficult"

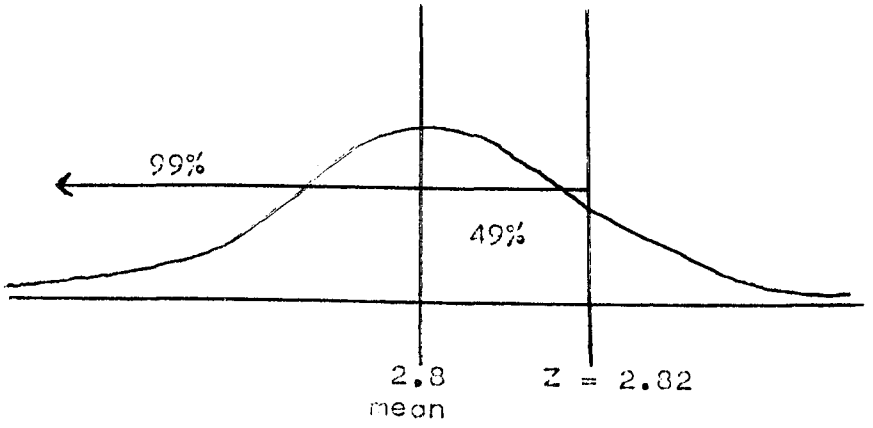
children and "very-difficult" children.

Significance

Now we wish to look at where some of our hypothesized results fall within the total subject population. In ego-supportive control (see Fig. 6), parents high in sociability are considerably more active in ego-supportive behavior with their children than parents low in sociability.

Figure 6

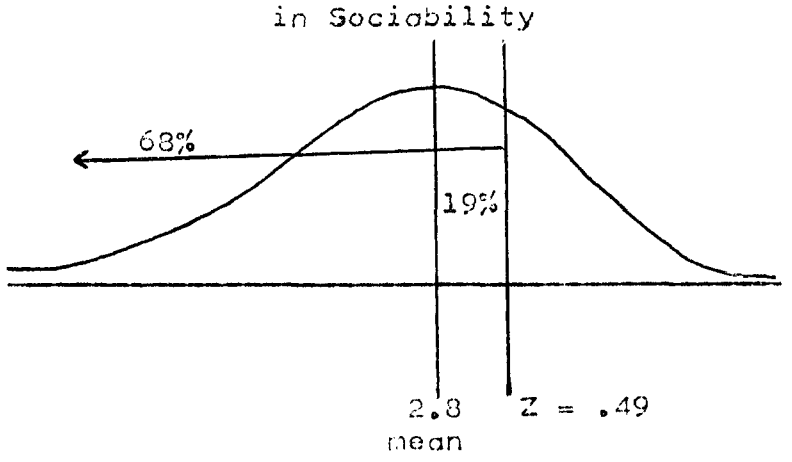
Ego-Supportive Control with Parents High in Sociability



Though parents high in sociability were more ego-supportive than the average caretaker in our population, these parents were also slightly more power-assertive than the average caretaker (see Fig. 7). This point goes against Buss and Plomin (1975), who describe a parent high in sociability as one who would "be loving and would at least lean away from punitiveness..." (p. 215).

Figure 7

Power-Assertive Control with Parents High in Sociability



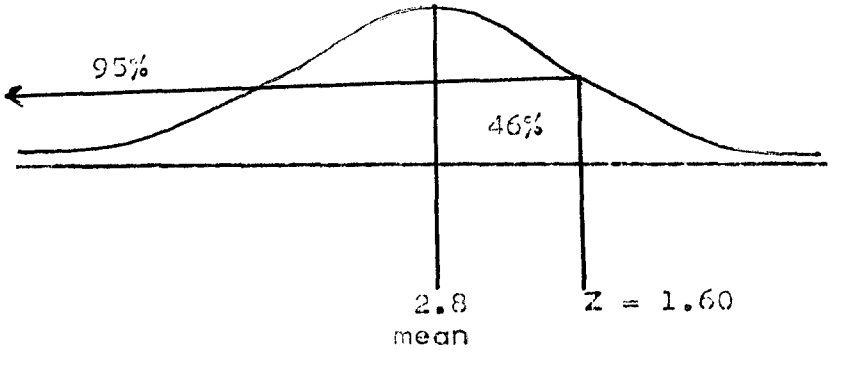
According to the definition of sociability by Buss and Plomin, the present study has equated sociability with the involvement of the caretaker with the child: "We assume that the sociable person not only seeks out others but is warmly responsive to their presence" (p. 92). The measure used to tap into parental sociability in the current study was a section of the Developmental history Form (see Appendix A). For both mother and father, activities with their child included: a) lap games (i.e., holding and touching the child), b) indoor games, c) outdoor games, d) reading or language building and e) conversation or discussion. The logic used was to infer parental sociability by the amount of activities the parent and child do together. Either the present study defined sociability differently than Buss and Plomin, or -- and this is a more favorable explanation

--, parents high in sociability are parents that are committed to their children, and the expression of parental commitment may vary depending on the child and the parent. In the current study parents high in sociability used both ego-supportive and power-assertive control, and their children appeared to feel better about themselves (i.e., higher self-concept scores) than did the children of parents low in sociability.

This study also showed that children labeled "easy" received more power-assertive control from their parents than the average child in our population.

Figure 8

Power-Assertive Control on Children labeled "Easy"



Recall that Bell (1968) has differentiated two types of parental control: 1) upper-limit control and 2) lower-limit control. To understand why a child labeled "easy" would receive more power-assertive control than one labeled "difficult" is to

imagine a minister getting drunk versus the town drunk getting drunk. The town would have standards or expectations for both the minister and the town drunk. Now in Bell's upper-limit control, the intensity of the child's activity exceeds the standards (expectations) set by the caretaker, and the caretaker will reduce the activity. In our analogy, the minister and not the town drunk would receive upper-limit control from the community. The town drunk has not gone beyond the standards or expectations set for him by the town: he is supposed to drink. (If the town drunk was to stop drinking, Bell's lower-limit control might be applied,i.e., someone would offer him a drink.) A difficult child may actually receive less power-assertive behavior from the caretaker than an easy child due to the difficult child's fulfillment of the caretaker's expectations about him or her.

Recommendations

There are several ideas for future research that this study has produced.

(1) Future work could be done on the possibility of a caretaker's "expectation boundary," particularly in the area of parental discipline. Conceivably, as stated above, a set of expectations of how a child will act in a variety of situations is built up over time by the parent.

(2) In the present study, teachers appear to be influenced by the degree of sociability of the parent when rating the behavior of the child. As stated earlier in this chapter, low sociability caretakers might be seen by the teacher as a causative agent for the difficulty of the difficult child, but difficult children whose parents are high in sociability may not have that luxury.

APPENDIX A

PENDLETON PROJECT DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM*

* Specific sections

PENDLETON PROJECT DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM

Date of Data Collection:

Name of Subject:

Informant:

Relationship of Informant to Subject:

Interviewer:

Instructions: This form is to be completed by the interviewer. Some questions will have a no/yes response pattern. If that is the case, then choose one of those. Otherwise, write in an appropriate answer.
If an item is preceded by ____, then the item is to be scored as:

5. Very frequently
4. Often
3. Occasionally
2. Rarely
1. Never

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM

SOCIABILITY, MOTHERS AND FATHERS

1) Did parent spend time daily with S other than meeting basic needs (e.g., bathing, feeding, toileting, etc.)?

2) Did parent engage S in reading or language building activities (e.g., talking to S) prior to six years old?

3) Did parent engage S in outdoor games prior to six years old?

4) Did parent engage S in lap games prior to six years old?

5) Did parent engage S in indoor games prior to six years old?

6) Did parent engage S in outdoor games after six years old?

7) Did parent engage S in conversation or discussion after six years old?

8) Did parent engage S in reading or language building activities after six years old?

9) Did parent engage S in indoor games after six years old?

10) Did parent engage S in lap games after six years old?

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM

EGO-SUPPORTIVE CONTROL, MOTHERS AND FATHERS

1) Did parent use praising as a discipline technique?

2) Did parent use explanation as a discipline technique?

3) Did parent use earning privileges as a discipline technique?

4) Did parent use material reward as a discipline technique?

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM

POWER-ASSERTIVE CONTROL, MOTHERS AND FATHERS

1) Did parent use scolding as a discipline technique?

2) Did parent use threatening as a discipline technique?

3) Did parent use spanking as a discipline technique?

4) Did parent use whipping as a discipline technique?

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY FORM

ACTING OUT BEHAVIORS, CHILDREN

1) Fears prior to age six?

2) Jealousy prior to age six?

3) Bashful prior to age six?

4) Stealing prior to age six?

5) Temper tantrums prior to age six?

6) Tests limits and rules prior to age six?

7) Disobedience prior to age six?

8) Disagreeable prior to age six?

9) Distructive behavior prior to age six?

10) Aggressive behavior (e.g., fighting) prior to age six?

11) Stays to himself; plays alone prior to age six?

12) Runs away from home prior to age six?

13) Demands own way prior to age six?

14) Compliant but resentful prior to age six?

15) Wants immediate gratification of needs prior to age six?

16) Continues with maladaptive behavior even though negative consequences have resulted in the past prior to age six?

17) Leaves field in stressful situations prior to age six?

18) Cruel to animals or other children prior to age six?

19) Complains that other children don't like him prior to age six?

20) Has nightmares prior to age six?

PENDLETON PROJECT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

(TEACHERS)

PENDLETON PROJECT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION

CHILD'S NAME:

AGE:

GRADE:

SCHOOL:

DATE:

RATED BY:

RELATIONSHIP TO CHILD:

DIRECTIONS:

Please rate each and every item below by putting the number of the statement which best describes a child's behavior in the circle beside each item. The five descriptions from which you will choose are given below:

5. Very frequently
4. Often
3. Occasionally
2. Rarely
1. Never

1. Gets along well with other children.
2. Has trouble holding on to things.
3. Is satisfied that he gets his fair share of things.
4. Handwriting is poor.
5. Does not hold a grudge against others.
6. Is upset if things do not turn out perfectly.
7. Completes his work without jumping to something else.
8. Blames himself when things go wrong.
9. Accidentally runs into people and objects.
10. Displays a don't care attitude.
11. Is truthful.
12. Is calm.

13. Daydreams.
14. Respects others belongings.
15. Rotates or rocks his body.
16. Appears nervous.
17. Displays self-control (keeps quiet or stays in his seat).
18. Cooperates if asked to do something.
19. Gets tired quickly.
20. Accepts responsibility for his own actions.
21. Is quickly frustrated and releases emotional control.
22. Gets along well with classmates.
23. Hits or pushes others trying to injure them.
24. Works well in group activities.
25. Is a leader.
26. Is easily frustrated and gives up passively.
27. Gives picture of "poor me."
28. Appears to enjoy teasing and irritating others.
29. Wants others to do things for him.
30. Can work without constant praise.
31. Drawings and paintings are messy.
32. Has trouble remembering things.
33. Accuses others of things.
34. Complains others do not like him.

35. Overreacts easily.

36. Does only what he wants.

37. Shows explosive and unpredictable behavior.

38. Shows tics and grimaces without apparent reason.

39. Shows little respect for authority (e.g., talks back or ignores instructions).

40. Becomes angry quickly.

41. Is rebellious if disciplined.

42. Becomes angry if asked to do something.

43. Explodes under stress.

44. Appears physically lethargic.

45. Refuses help.

46. Flares up at classmates if teased or pushed.

47. Sulks.

48. Shows little feelings when others are upset.

APPENDIX B

PROCEDURE AND INSTRUCTIONS

1) The first step is to fill in the Consent/Permission Form and have it signed and witnessed as indicated.

2) The case worker will complete the DEM form as much as possible from information existing in case records and personal observations.

3) The case worker will interview the parent or appropriate others to complete the DEM. The last part of the interview will be used to complete the Developmental History Form (DEV).

4) Meet with the teacher or school administrator who has had an opportunity to observe the subject's behavior for at least three months preceding and get the person to agree to complete the Behavior Rating Scale (BEH) regarding the subject. Leave the form with the teacher to be picked up in a day or two.

5) Arrange a meeting with the child in the environment suitable for testing and administer the following instruments, in order: A) Piers-Harris to be read by the child, B) CPI to be read by the child.

THE PERSON WHO ADMINISTERS THE BEHAVIORAL RATING SCALE SHOULD GIVE VERBAL INSTRUCTIONS WHICH CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE

This instrument consists of statements which describe specific behaviors. You are asked to indicate the frequency the subject engages in each behavior. If the subject demonstrates the behavior very frequently, place a 5 in the circle corresponding to the behavior; if he demonstrates the behavior often, place a 4 in the circle; if he demonstrates the behavior occasionally, place a 3 in the circle; if he demonstrates the behavior rarely, place a 2 in the circle; and if he demonstrates the behavior never, place a 1 in the circle.

In order to determine the frequency of a certain behavior, consider the number of opportunities the child has to demonstrate the behavior. Then consider the number of times he actually did it. For example, if a child has 10 opportunities to hit another child and he actually hit him 8 to 10 times, you may respond with a 5. If the child hit 6 or 7 out of 10 times, a 4 may be used. A response of 3 would be used if a child hit 4 or 5 times out of 10. A rating of 2 if a behavior was observed 2 or 3 times and 1 for a behavior that was never observed.

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ABSTRACT

MULTI-DIRECTIONAL LEARNING BETWEEN DELINQUENT CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS: THE CHILD'S RELATIONSHIP ON CARETAKING CONTROL, AND THE CARETAKER'S STYLE ON THE CHILD'S SELF-CONCEPT AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

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The purpose of this study was to examine how the effects of varying degrees of parental sociability (high/low) interact with the child's temperament (easy/difficult) on a youth population labeled "delinquent" in the following manner: 1) how the child's temperament modifies parental behavior by eliciting a degree of control on the child, and 2) the way the style of the parent's control shapes the child's self-regard, and how others view him or her (specifically, the teacher).

Sears (1951) and Bell (1968) have both dealt with the complexity of human interaction, Bell focusing on the parent and child. For Bell (1977), the child is controlling the caretaker's control of him or her (the child) by varying his or her intensity of activity, either beyond parental expectation (upper-limit), or below it (lower-limit).

Two-way analysis of variances were done, and 1) the data does support the hypothesis that the style of parental control (high/low sociability) is related to the self-regard of the child ($P < .00001$), 2) data results on the behavioral ratings of teachers was not significant, but means indicate that teachers may look at both the child's homelife (parents) as well as the behavior of the child, and 3) there is a relationship between the child's temperament and the power-assertive behavior of parents ($P < .001$) but not ego-supportive behavior.